/117 cont./

199 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 137 The territory. The physical envionment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (iču, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather [324] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate [134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to 312 a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

/117 cont./

312 puna, which are covered with sparse herbage. In some places
[346] lagoons are formed which are propitious for growing water plants,
[33[which serve as food for the pigs, as black and hairy as boars. The
137 Čipaya assert that 12 kinds of plants grow in their soil, the names of which they obligingly enumerate in prayers to their divinities. As I am not a botanist /118/ I could not verify the accuracy of this assertion. It nonetheless reveals a certain care for precision among the Čipaya, which is perhaps superfluous when one considers the scantiness of this flora which a little wetness causes to grow in the
132 midst of sand. In January and February the territory of Chipaya
[133] has the appearance of a vast swamp. This monotonous and desolate
[346] land is suddenly transfigured as if animated by the magic of the refraction of a supernatural life: a few small religious buildings plastered with white earth are transformed into sparkling mosques, the "water houses" and the enlarged and multiplied pigsties give birth to strange cities which line the edges of immense lakes in which bizarrely cut mountains are reflected. In the sky the clouds draw into strange formations and assume a luster elsewhere unknown. It is also the period of great storms. There are days when half the horizon is illuminated by the sun while the other, in the night, is ravaged by the tempest and furrowed by lightning.

[133] Without these periodic inundations the territory of Chipaya would be only a sandy plain identical with those denuded expanses which separate it from the Coipasa salt marshes. Thus the existence of the Čipaya depends on the flooding of the Lauca River, which, practically dry in winter, carries a considerable amount of water in the summer. Sometimes it happens that the characteristic winter dryness is prolonged into the summer months, threatening to destroy, along with the wretched grassy vegetation
132 of the "canton," the flocks which feed upon it. This is the most
221 crucial time of the year, the one in which the fortunes of the tribe
796 are at stake. Hence it is not astonishing that all the great festivals of the Čipaya take place at this time and that all have the

/159 cont./

Means of Subsistence

233 433 Stock raising. The Čipaya draw practically all their resources from stock raising. As I have already had the occasion of saying in 233 311 [312] describing the environment /160/ where they live, the pastures which cover their territory have been artificially created by diverting, by means of arms from long canals, the waters of the Lauca River, which flows ten kilometers from the village. By means of dams they cause partial flooding, which sustains a short, tough grass in places on which the sheep feed and which elsewhere transforms the plain into marshes where the submerged grasses develop better than in open air. Other water grasses thrive there and they sometimes reach 50 931 343 311 cm. in height. All along these mires and lagoons rise small huts shaped like ovens, similar although very small to the conical houses of the second type (Fig. 1, B /see p. 142/). These are shelters that serve as a refuge for sows at littering time. During the rainy season vast expanses of plain are thus covered with water. The many wretched huts that border them which mirage enlarges and deforms often give the traveler the impression of circulating in the midst of a large lacustral city.

233 417 The entire zone of pastures is strewn with enclosures (uyu) in which the sheep are penned at night. The mothers are separated from the lambs because of the milking which takes place at dawn. I was always struck by the completely disproportionate number of these enclosures in comparison with the number of flocks. Without doubt the Čipaya build them anew each time that they leave a zone where the grass is exhausted to lead their sheep to graze in another region of their territory. These enclosures like the wretched huts are made of clods, and their opening is always toward the east.

342 [361] It is in this vast zone occupied sometimes by lagoons, sometimes by pastures, that the Čipaya have their "water houses" (k^{x}as-k^{x}oya), or estancias, (Pl. IV, A /see p. 213/) of which I have [572] already had occasion to speak. The estancias are usually occupied by the youngest members of the family and by the old people.

2:Méraux--192 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga-
Cipaya
Aymara SF5

/194 cont./

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 137/).

Métraux--210 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Čipaya / Carangas

Plate I

A. Young Čipaya girl

B. Čipaya couple in Sunday [illegible]

C. Čipaya women come to draw water from a canal and fleeing under a storm.

D. Little Indian girl holding a piglet.

?Ruiz Camacho J-3 (no desa) 1960 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallkus*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22 - B]